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ABSTRACT

The task of the journalistic pluralist is one of presenting alternatives so that audiences may exercise personal freedom in choosing among them. It has been held generally that the more publications there are--the more sources of information--the more the idea of pluralism will be served. However, with the consolidation of media ownership and the emergence of more specialized audiences, this assumption has become obsolete. In redefining the concept of pluralism, a model has been proposed that places the individual journalist in the position of conduit. As a conduit, the journalist has a responsibility to offer a forum to the "special pleader"; however, the more difficult responsiblity is that of generating and presenting messages that tend to counter those of the organized special pleading groups. Such generation of alternative messages allows individual audience members to consider options in their decision making processes. Thus, the pluralistic journalist becomes an essential element in the production of decisions by society. (FL)

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A DUALISTIC PRESUMPTION: THE JOURNALIST AS CONDUIT AND PLURALIST

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A DUALISTIC PRESUMPTION: THE JOURNALIST AS CONDUIT AND PLURALIST

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The concept of a pluralistic society has often been applauded in this country, but it has seldom been explored--particularly the role of pluralism in journalism or the mass media. Most references have been based on silent assumptions and have been accompanied only by brief context-setting descriptions. As a result, little effort has been made to define the construct of journalistic pluralism or to deal with it as a latent structure that butresses a participatory democracy.

The professional literature of recent years, however, has contained a number of brief, implicit operational definitions of journalistic pluralism such as Nick Williams' suggestion that:

> It is the duty of the media reporter, then, to report all these degrees of opinion on a subject of such importance and report them with equal weighting, equal diligence...Our responsibility is to distribute a full range of information, upon which the electorate, and possibly even the national parties will be able to take action. [1]

A different, system-oriented approach maintains that pluralism among a multiplicity of mass media units is the basis of a pluralistic profession. E.B. White capsulized the notion in a letter to the Xerox Corporation when he pointed out:

> The press in our country is reliable...because of its great diversity. As long as there are many owners, each packaging his own brand of truth, we the people have the opportunity to arrive at the truth and to dwell in the light. Multiplicity of ownership is essential. Where there are few or only one owner, as in a government-owned press, truth becomes elusive and the light fails. It is the privilege of each individual in our society to have access to hundreds of periodicals, each peddling its belief. There is safety in numbers; the papers expose each others' follies...and cancel out each others' biases. [2]

The difference in emphasis between these two approaches may be a critical one at this time--a difference that may, in a very practical way, determine whether or not the individual reader will be exposed to pluralistic materials.

An internal resolve, either within the reporter or within the media unit, will guarantee pluralism within a single newspaper. But White's example of multi-unit pluralism may not, in this day and age, be sufficient to reasonably assure a pluralism of ideas for the individual reader or viewer.

This observation raises the question of the public's "right to know" from a pluralistic standpoint.

The current issue of Columbia Journalism Review (July-August, 1977) contains a short discussion by Richard A. Schwarzlose of what he sees as a drift towards legal formalization of the philosophically accepted slogan affirming a "public's right to know."[3]

He cites two instances, separated in time, in which "positive demands" have been made on the press (or mass media) to grant the public such a right: the findings of the 1947 Commission on the Freedom of the Press and the recent campaign for public access to the media initiated by Jerome Barron's argument for an implied First Amendment right of access.

Schwarzlose makes the point that the courts are now taking a position on "right to know" that is public-oriented rather than journalist or media-oriented.

Two reasons for this may be that (a) a consolidation of media ownership is gradually reducing the number of pluralistic media viewpoints, and (b) an increasing specialization of publications (a product of expanding mobility and social fragmentation of American society) tends to limit the variety of media

voices an individual is likely to encounter. This latter aspect of specialization may be inimical to pluralism in that it provides fertile ground for an advocacy or partisan press.

Contrary to White's suggestion that an individual will use a multiplicity of sources if they are available to him, it seems more logical--given the drift in recent years to specialized publications--that the individual limits his sources, thereby limiting the plurality of viewpoints he may tap for participatory decision-making.

William Rivers, Theodore Peterson and Jay Jenson further theorize that audiences are in danger of becoming "increasingly fragmented or stratified because the media have been aiming at more clearly defined audiences."[4]

The problem with media that cater to specialized audiences with specialized tastes is that they must reflect the special viewpoints of their constituents. Specialized media must do so to remain economically viable. Imagine how an advertisement or article urging gun control would be accepted by the audience of the National Rifle Association Magazine.

An advocacy position, then, is a natural result of audience specialization--and it is this advocacy drift that has greatly concerned such journalists as Louis Lyons, who notes:

> An old fogey's concern over the current demand for advocacy journalism is that it could return us to the early partisan and party press when a man read only the paper of his own faction and had his horizon hedged by that. The virtue of a general press was freedom from such a single track bias.[5]

This paper takes the position that a public-oriented "right to know" should be a paramount concern of the journalist who is committed to preserving a pluralistic and participatory society, and that the professional journalist who becomes an advocate (at the expense of pointing out pluralistic alternatives)

has committed ethical transgression. A public "right to know" is of little value unless the concept of pluralism is implicit in its philosophy.

An Ethos of Pluralism

Since it is evident that the "journalist as pluralist" is more likely to generate diversified information than will "multi-unit pluralism," it is useful to define pluralism as it applies to participatory democracies in general and a free press in particular.

The notion of press pluralism as an essential element in the survival of a democratic society is deeply entrenched in the Libertarian ideal. Merrill and Lowenstein note this is an interdependent relationship and suggest "we might say that the concept of the newspaper press is that of observer and critic of government, and protector of pluralism: (emphasis added)

> This is about as much as we can say (and some will disagree even with this) about the institutionalized press concept in this country. The pluralism built into this concept is what really keeps the newspaper system of this country from having a more discernable concept.[6]

This tendency of journalistic pluralism to limit convenient description, however, certainly has not inhibited its "enthronement" as a vital principle that works in some generalized way to preserve a free society. As Merrill and Lowenstein note with some reservations:

> ...and when we have said that pluralism is the newspaper press concept of the country, we have not really said that much about the system's objectives, aims, purposes and goals. We have only said, in effect, that these objectives and goals are somehow intrinsic in the concept of pluralism and will, in due course, work themselves out in some kind of mystical manner. Newspaper people in this country, usually falling back on John Milton, have traditionally maintained that pluralism leads to a free encounter of information and ideas and somehow, out of this battle of contradictions, will emerge Truth. Therefore, pluralism has been enthroned conceptually in our press--in fact, in our entire media system.[7]

So, while the term has gained some currency, little has been done to explore the concept as it contributes in a positive way to the ability of an individual to function in a participatory society. Does our journalistic pluralism enhance public decision-making? How is it achieved? Where does the journalist fit into a pluralized society? All of these questions are vital ones that need to be answered if we wish to do more than just pay lip service to the concept of pluralism.

It is difficult to describe an abstraction that tends to thwart definition by its very diversity. One dictionary suggests that the philosophical definition of pluralism is "the doctrine that reality is composed of many ultimate substances," or "the belief that no single explanatory system or view of reality can account for all the phenomenon of life."[8]

Another definition describes the practitioner of pluralism as "a man who belongs to many groups":

> A man who belongs to many groups is the best representative of the Aristotelian middle virtue. He is neither a hero nor a scoundrel, but a moderate man who does not like excesses and can balance and compromise his many interests and loyalties. He is also open-minded because, knowing his own interests and loyalties, he understands and tolerates those of others. Hence, he becomes a tolerant man. (emphasis added)[9]

Meshing these ideas, it is apparent that the basic components of pluralism are alternative viewpoints and an empathic tolerance for fairly considering those alternatives. The true pluralist cannot afford the arrogance of thinking he is right. He realizes few truths are absolute and acknowledges that he must deal with a world where right and wrong are usually relative to a point of view.

The task of the pluralist, then, is one of presenting these alternatives so that persons residing in a free society may exercise personal freedom in choosing among the alternatives. He may have a personal bias in favor of a

certain point of view--but he attempts to present all alternatives because he feels an obligation to let other members of his society freely choose as he has chosen.

A pluralist shuns the advocate position because he has a deep conviction that public identification and discussion of as many alternatives as possible will yield the "informed public" upon which participatory democracy relies for its very existence.

For the journalist, then, it is easier to be an advocate than a pluralist. The "journalist as advocate" merely has to argue his own viewpoint and persuade his audience to follow suit. But the "journalist as pluralist" faces a far greater burden of searching out alternatives and transmitting them to his audience with a sense of tolerance that will not permit alteration or persuasive manipulation of those alternatives to suit his own needs. His commitment is to Truth as a product of pluralistic confrontations, with Truth becoming what public opinion decrees it to be in a participatory society.

It is argued here that this particular breed of "journalist as pluralist" is very necessary in a day of conglomerate media ownership, specialization of publications and a decline of pluralism in the social fabric generally. While these forces combine to limit the number of pluralistic alternatives, the pluralist-journalist seeks to amplify free choice by providing diverse sources of information.

By "journalist", we must include anyone who is in a position to gather and transmit messages through the mediating channel of the mass media. He must be one, however, who exercises some control over the message that is transmitted. He may be a reporter, editor, publisher or other "controller" of the media.

This journalist, as the title of this paper suggests, has an ethical mandate to accept two basic roles as a communicator. The first is the relatively well-established role of conduit. The conduit is one who is basically in the business of "transferring" information from the source to the audience in (as much as the limitations on the individual and restrictions inherent in the medium will permit) as complete and undistorted a form as possible.[10]

Generally, the conduit function has been viewed as the traditional role of the journalist and is usually described as "objective reporting". It carries the assumption that if reporters will transmit information without altering the content, the pluralistic function will be served since those who have interests in persuasion will deliver alternative messages for the journalist to transmit. This, in essence, is a process of self-generating alternatives, or the reliance that "in due course the system's goals and aims will work themselves out in some kind of mystical manner."[11]

However, it should be readily apparent that we have entered an era of the "special pleader" or the "professional persuader" whose basic skill lies in being able to manipulate the conduit-mentality media to the advantage of his vested interest.

Ralph Barney suggests the need for recognition of a basic conflict between "those who serve as intermediaries between the persuaders and the targets of persuasion, (with the persuaders being those) whose overt intent is to influence the public decision-making process."[12]

An example of this class of "persuaders" is the public relations practitioner, a member of a professional field that has experienced startling growth in recent years. Indeed, a prime candidate for the public relations job is the journalist

who has learned the intricacies of conduit operation and who, it may be assumed, can therefore be considered to be a valuable resource as a conduit manipulator.

The growth of public relations activity and other persuasion-oriented materials being fed to the mass media in recent years is reflected in the increasing proportion of news copy and newscast reports that are either originated by special pleaders or volunteer sources, as opposed to materials generated by staff members themselves.

Two studies illustrate this. In the first, an analysis of 22 key papers in 11 major metropolitan areas, data indicated that one-fifth of the stories published on both foreign aid and health, education and welfare topics were traceable in whole or in part to formal releases or statements issued by the government agencies involved.[13]

Another study, done in the early 1960s by William Schabarker, found that the Milwaukee Journal relied on public relations-generated releases or memos for more than 44 per cent of its non-wire, non-syndicated stories. The Sentinel, another Milwaukee paper, based 52 per cent of its stories on public relations material.[14] It is likely that these proportions are even higher today, considering the growth of public relations operations.

Such a growth may not be dangerous by itself, except as it signals a reliance by media on special pleaders--at the expense of generating alternative information that might provide different perspectives on the messages of the special pleaders.

It becomes deceptively simple for the journalist to utilize the information provided by special pleader sources, with the inference that little other information is needed, or that little more be said.

Verne Edwards leaves little doubt where the responsibility for the control of "special pleader" information flow lies:

> The major responsibility for making public relations a useful, rather than a damaging, instrument in the flow of information and opinion must rest with newspaper, magazines, and radio and television stations. Under-staffed media cannot effectively check against the increased flow of propaganda. Publishers and broadcasters who succumb to the 'PR blandishments' deserve more scorn than the unprincipled hucksters who use them.[15]

Without alternative sources of information to counter the messages of special pleaders, readers and viewers get a biased picture of reality that endangers sound decision-making.

For example, the Internal Revenue Service district office in Salt Lake City, Utah, regularly distributes press releases announcing successful or "positive" enforcement actions (i.e., convictions or the filing of charges against tax evaders, etc.) while rarely giving out voluntary information relating to successes by taxpayers who have challenged IRS procedures and won their case.

As a consequence, readers--particularly of small, under-staffed weekly newspapers for whom IRS news releases are a staff of life--may perceive an "allness" of universal success by IRS in its enforcement efforts that will convince the public of the futility of challenge.

Such "assumptions of allness" are seen by Irving J. Lee in his discussion of general semantic principles as having "destructive effects in generating conflicts, in preserving obscurantism and ignorance, while preventing our plumbing the vast areas of human existence."[16]

On the other hand, a journalist committed to personal pluralism finds himself committed to generating alternative information that often counters the "allness" impression that the public relations practitioner and other professional persuaders create as a part of their own professional responsibility.

In a sense, the journalist becomes the "last bastion"--the final line of defense for audience members rendered somewhat defenseless by circumstances of information complexity. In a complex society, the individual finds it difficult, even impractical, to gather pluralistic information because of the problem of locating additional sources.

Therefore, the journalist must make extraordinary efforts to become a "captive of his audience" insofar as he seeks out alternative views. It will not come naturally, nor--as John Merrill suggests--will it come without considerable opposition from a variety of sources both inside and outside the media.[17]

A PLURALIST MODEL

The following model (Figure I) describes the dual roles a journalist must pursue if he is to keep the pluralistic faith with his audience.

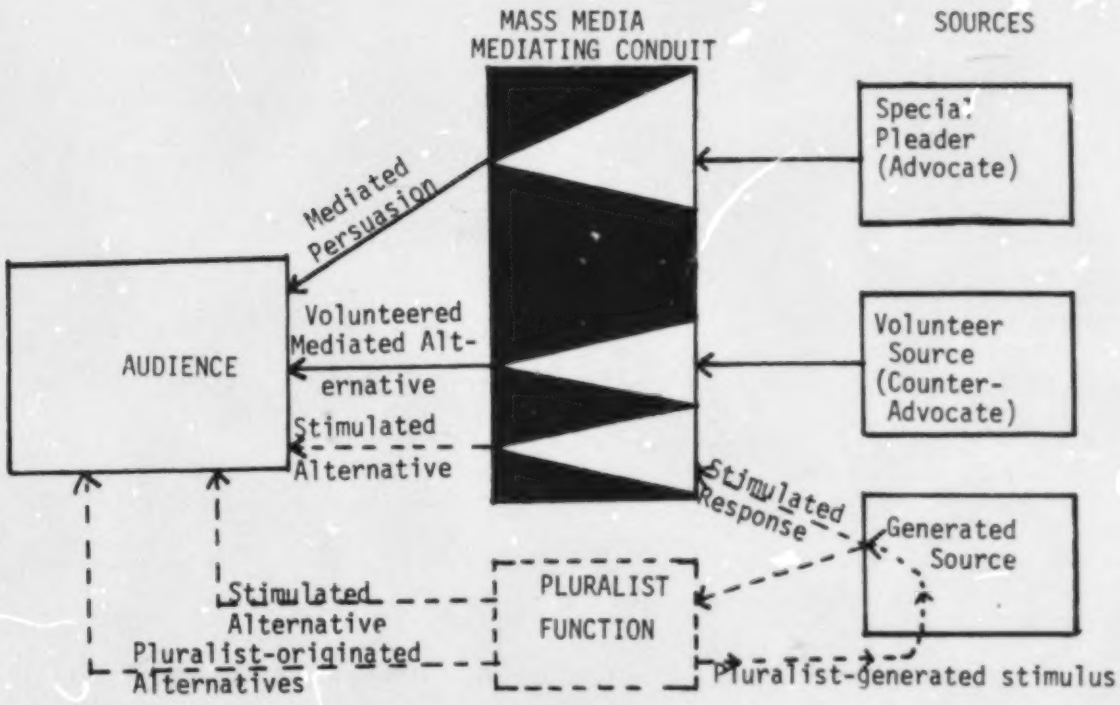

FIGURE 1: Role Model of the Journalist as Conduit and Pluralist

Three elements are present in the model: the source (at right); the media, including the individual journalist (center), and the audience, at left. The pluralist, distinguished from the rest of the media, is isolated for separate discussion.

THE SOURCE: Three types of sources are included in this model to demonstrate the three general roles sources may play. The first, and dominant, is the "special pleader", or the professional persuader noted earlier. His basic function is to advance his cause, therefore he has limited responsibility to the audience and major responsibility to his cause. This special pleader may be a professional public relations practitioner, or a publicity chairman for next week's Church social, or the high school play, or he may be any other individual with a cause to promote. Whatever his position, his role as a persuader is dominated by his need to advance a cause. It is this need that moves him to distribute information to the media in the first place--unasked.

The second source is the "volunteer" who may volunteer information in response to, or perhaps to counter, the "persuader's" message. In some cases, the volunteer may describe new facets (differing interpretations) of the problem. In other cases the volunteer may describe the hidden side. Either way, the volunteer becomes a source of alternative information--most often in response to messages generated by the special pleader.

The third source is a "discovered" source generated by the pluralist who routinely is persuaded there are other facets to the dominant message being advanced by either the special pleader(s) or the volunteer source. In this case, the pluralist seeks out the alternative information source, particularly if there is no alternative message being disseminated (he may search court records for an IRS success-ratio in response to IRS news releases, for example).

In this case, the pluralist acts as a stimulus to launch the movement of otherwise undisseminated information (he may respond out of his own background and knowledge, or he may find an additional source).

THE MEDIA: In any case, the information from the three sources moves through the mediating conduit of the mass media (the central element of the model.) The conduit function is a concept that has rarely been described, although Harold Lasswell alluded to the function when he distinguished between message handling and message manipulation:

> A further distinction can be made between message controlling and message handling centers and social formation...The message center in the vast Pentagon Building of the War Department in Washington D.C. transmits with no more than accidental change incoming messages to addressees. This is the role of the printers and distributors of books; of dispatchers, linemen, and messengers connected with telegraphic communication; of radio engineers and other technicians associated with broadcasting. Such message handlers may be contrasted with those who affect the content of what is said, which is the function of editors, censors and propagandists. Speaking of the

> symbol specialists as a whole, therefore, we may seperated them into the manipulators (controllers) and the handlers; the first group typically modifies content while the second does not.[18]

It is interesting to note that Lasswell views the conduit role to be one of technical relay--a function that is fine for technical personnel but dangerous for the professional journalist. If a message that has been previously manipulated merely passes through the conduit, without the mediation of alternative messages, the conduit becomes merely a servant of the persuasive mechanism.

However, the material moving through the conduit is altered in some ways--by the capacities of the medium being used, the human selectivity that determines how much and with what emphasis the material may be used. These and other factors almost guarantee the material can not be transmitted untouched through the conduit to the audience--the notion that the map can never adequately represent the territory because it is not the territory.[19]

For all three sources, then, the messages omitted must pass through the media gatekeepers and ultimately to the audience.

THE AUDIENCE: An elementary observation about the nature of an audience is that it is composed of individuals, each of whom finds it necessary to face, and contend with, each day as it is encountered. Each individual is seeking, from whatever medium he comes in contact with, assistance in this day-to-day encounter.

This daily exercise in coping necessitates, if the individual hopes to make some progress into the realm of satisfaction and contentment, a myriad of decisions. However small, each of those decisions will have an effect on his relative happiness.

These decision range from the relatively minor (color or style of clothing) to the major (who, or whether, to marry or what job to take in what part of the nation) with all of the varying gradations in between.

A basic assumption in the United States (bolstered by the Bill of Rights and other social supports of a self-determinant society) is that the individual member of the society has the capability for making intelligent decisions--harvesting the benefits of the wiser decisions while accepting the consequences for the less astute choices.

A basic philosophical premise here is that in order for consistently intelligent decisions to be made, there must be adequate information available to the individual to allow him to be truly aware of the alternatives available in any decision-making opportunity.

It is in this area that the journalist most obviously plays his most important role. Perhaps the collective journalist is not the only source of information, or even the most important single source of information on a given topic. Yet, in an increasingly complex world, the journalist almost inevitably becomes at least one of the major sources of information--both incidental and sought-for--for nearly every individual.

THE COMMUNICATION ENVIRONMENT

Not a great deal has been written about the "information gathering" communication environment of the individual, though much has been made of the interpersonal context of individual communication.

It is suggested here that the individual in a self-determining society will develop, according to his perception of his needs, a personal communication

system or network designed to help him improve both his survival and his progress within that society. Such a network yields the information that will allow him to function effectively at whatever level of social participation is dictated by his personal choice and his personal capabilities.

This means that a junior executive within a corporate structure, for example, who has aspirations of upward mobility in that organization should be perceptive enough to develop an information system that will facilitate his mobility. The system will be rather complex but should, if effective, provide him with the information he needs to anticipate--and therefore capitalize upon--organizational decisions and forthcoming corporate opportunities. These decisions and opportunities, coupled with the executive's ability to anticipate them through the astute use of advance information, should provide him with a marked advantage over co-workers who rely on chance factors and the flow of information through formal channels for their advancement.

The notion of an information-gatherer as one who "makes things happen" has a communication orientation for it is that individual who encounters informal information within the corporate rumor mill, decides there is reason to believe it is accurate and can then place himself squarely in the way of opportunity, thereby increasing his chances for promotion over more passive co-workers.

At the other end of the spectrum, a worker with a relatively low ambition level is more likely to develop a limited system of communication contacts... generally those in the area of his special interests or which allow him to "hang on" to the situation he has. As a result, he displays a functional apathy toward information containing the seeds of progress.

The progress-minded worker, with a rather extensive network extending into all areas of the formal and informal organization, gains advantage by informally trading information in ways that will increase his predictive capability and improve his organizational position.

Perhaps a useful analogy would be the two newspaper reporters covering the same beat but who have different styles of information gathering. The first formally contacts his major sources on a regular basis and does a routine, workmanlike job of covering his beat. He doesn't miss much that happens but he also doesn't generate much in the way of unusual or hidden information.

The second reporter, on the other hand, develops acquaintanceships with virtually everyone on his beat. He holds regular and prolonged conversations with them, "trading" information in such a way that he becomes aware of the undercurrents of activity before they ever become public events or issues.

This is the kind of reporter who is most likely to be viewed as the generator of information, one who breaks stories first, perhaps making it appear he is causing them to happen. Such predictive capability becomes valuable for the journalist in that he increases his value to his publication, and to other publications. It is such a journalist who most often moves into positions of greater status and prestige in the profession because he is able to develop contacts and cause them to work for him.

Under the injunction, then, that "Information is Power", the individual who develops sources of information (generally in a mutually beneficial way) through his communications network (including both informal and formal sources as well as extensive reading of current news publications, where appropriate) is the individual whose decisions are, for the most part, most soundly based. Therefore,

he becomes a valuable commodity for his organization. Applied personally, the network developer is better able to handle personal decisions, also.

It is argued, therefore, that the quality of an individual's life is going to be determined by (a) his consistent knowledge of alternatives that are available to him as he makes decisions and, of course (b) his ability to develop the analytical ability that will lead to consistently "correct" decisions. Since history ultimately judges whether the decisions were correct or not, this ability often must be guessed at, rather than known about.

Nevertheless, as some suggest, every individual today lives in an "information society" in which decisions may not be based on firsthand knowledge of reality, but upon information from a variety of sources that must be evaluated for supposed accuracy and used as a basis for decisions.

In an information society the individual finds himself in an increasingly dependent position, one in which traditional, intimate communications systems may not be adequate for the task ahead of him. He must, for example, make some intelligent decision about continued consumption of fossil fuels in this country, about the rate at which air is being polluted, about whether the arms race should be accelerated by U.S. development of additional weapons, or whether it should be abandoned altogether.

Relatively few individuals are prepared to develop adequate information on these topics through face-to-face contacts with informal information sources. The average person is most likely to become informed, gathering whatever information he obtains, from the formal sources of mass communication such as newspapers, radio, television, books, magazines, movies, mailings, advertisements, etc.

But the pluralistic gatherer of information realizes that the informal sources may not always provide either the quality or diversity of information necessary for quality decision-making. And without quality decision-making, the social structure that relies on such decision-making is in peril.

To state it simply, if the social order that has been built in the United States is to endure, or even to evolve progressively, the quality of information available to the individual must be such that it clearly delineates vital alternatives and generates dialogue on them.

Into such an arena, for the purposes of our discussion, are tossed the messages transmitted through the mass media. It has been postulated that the third person "mediating role" of the mass media gives credibility to any issue or event reported in a newspaper story. It is vital to note that this is a credibility the issue or event would not have if it were to come directly from the special pleader or persuader.

Paul Lazersfeld first identified this as the "status conferral" function, noting that attention by the mass media tends to confer a certain status on public issues, persons, organizations and movements.[20] A similar notion that is currently a subject for much debate is the "agenda-setting function" of the media--which not only suggests that media establish the agenda for public dialogue but also implies that the media determines that which will not be on the public agenda.

This ability of the media to somehow legitimatize messages and give them credibility becomes especially attractive to the special pleader, who seeks to use both written and broadcast stories as the means for acquiring an almost automatic credibility for the special interest issue or event they are paid to promote.

THE PLURALISTIC FUNCTION

Returning to the model, it is evident that the message passing through the mass media that strikes with the most force will be the mediated persuasion--and it will happen despite the alterations performed by the media. This is so because it is the only message that is likely to be generated systematically and with strong, methodical motivation and resources behind it. With this mediated persuasive message, the persuader is interested in trying to manipulate the media's audience into a public that will serve his vested interests.

The volunteer mediated alternative message will tend to counter the persuasive message, providing a leavening "food for thought" for the media's audience and hopefully raising enough questions to provoke that audience to consider alternatives. In the absence of such volunteer information, the stimulated alternative message serves the same purpose.

A theoretical assumption behind this model is that an audience member who can avail himself of the alternative messages provided by the special pleader and the volunteer or generated countering sources will make a far better decision than he would if simply subjected to the mediated message of a special pleader, without the leavening messages that contain alternatives.

Melvin DeFluer and Sandra Ball-Rokeach explain that the special pleader or professional persuader achieve their ends through a psycho dynamic model of persuasion that reduces the persuasion to a three-step process. Their model describes (1) the persuasive message, (2) the alteration or activation of latent psychological processes that (3) achieve a desired overt action linked to the psychological processes.[21]

This is a powerful process that will most likely produce persuasion in the absence of alternative messages and probably accounts for the ability of tyrants throughout history to marshall public opinion behind cruel and inhuman policies that actually ran counter to public moral convictions.

It might be suggested that this powerful form of persuasion is extended in contemporary times to such public concerns as bond issues, utility rate hikes, gaining public acceptance of new businesses and industries, tax increases and the funding of various capital improvements. It is reflected in efforts by special pleaders to convince a community that smokestack emmissions are not pollutive or that certain safety devices are not needed in automobiles.

Such persuasion is present throughout the entire range of special pleader messages currently being routed through news media as they attempt to either win public support or to discourage public scrutiny. The journalist who fails to recognize the power and the sources of such persuasion becomes an ally to the persuaders.

But the journalist with a firm commitment to idea of pluralism understands the forces of persuasion and, realizing the ability of special pleaders to manipulate the audience in the absence of alternative information, makes a special effort to insure a pluralized message flow.

Such a proposal, which calls for the articulation of alternatives, does not anticipate that subsequent decisions will always be wise ones and does not presuppose the reader or viewer will inevitably take advantage of the alternative messages that are available. The individual still remains free to choose among the various messages in a free and self-determinant society and will therefore make bad choices as well as good ones. To paraphrase Supreme Court Justice

Potter Stewart, it is not the job of the journalist to make sure people arrive at the "correct" decision. It is only the job of the journalist to provide information that will make arriving at the correct decisions possible.[22]

Yet, it is logical that such an availability of alternatives should improve the decision-making abilities of individuals, thus providing for a more valid decision-making function on the part of society.

Certainly, this position relies on an assumption of the rationality of the governed--a position it is often easy to reject, given some public decisions such as Richard Nixon's re-election despite the cloud of Watergate.

Nevertheless, the trust placed in the electorate and in "informed public opinion" is apparently well-founded. George Gallup, with more than 40 years of public opinion polling experience, says that in light of subsequent history the people--as measured by his staff of pollsters--have consistently been right more often than their elected leaders.[23]

Whether or not history will support the theory of man's rationality, the fact remains that as a society we retain a commitment to that philosophy despite consistent social control efforts in some quarters to (a) erode the commitment and (b) persuade people they really have no superior ability over their elected leaders in the decision-making arena and that, in fact, their ability is inferior.

If this society is to persist--or if any participatory society is to persist, pluralism must not only be tolerated but must also be encouraged in such a way that the rights of individuals will be preserved by public consensual agreement as well as by rule of law (which implies that the laws

will be limited enough to allow a considerable degree of freedom of decision on virtually all issues confronting the individual). Such a free society would attempt to obtain maximum participation in the decision-making process in order to represent the pluralized interests of as many of its citizens as possible. It would also make substantial efforts to restrict the activities of institutions that tend to infringe on personal freedoms in those areas not circumscribed by law.

In essence, such a society would provide an "environment of pluralism;" a sphere of operational diversities which, coming into juxtaposition, would yield a basis for wiser comparison. This is the basic Libertarian approach of Milton and Jefferson--a view that E. B. White calls democracy based on "the recurrent suspicion that more than half the people are right more than half the time."

The key to the exercise of personal freedom within this kind of society lies in its tolerance of diversity--which implies tolerance on individuals as well as minorities and factions within the social whole. Any attempt to suppress the freedom of individuals or groups would reduce the number of pluralistic options which would, in turn, reduce the level of freedom available to any member of the society. Ergo, it follows that a loss of decision-forming information leads to a corollary loss of decision-making ability. Pluralistic tolerance, then, leads to improved decision-making based on more information.

Decision-making in a pluralistic society is rarely done by some huge amorphous majority. Such groupings rarely exist in societies comprised of diverse groups. Decision-making becomes, in pluralistic societies, the result of diverse groups reaching a consensuality through the brokerage of power, ideas and positions.

In their analysis of the making of public policy, Joseph Monson and Mark Cannon observe that the major safeguard for our pluralistic democracy is the competition for power among diverse groups that compromise and finally reach consensus by "minorities rule." They hold that:

> Our modern political system of brokerage of interests among minorities (wherein a consensus of minorities--or a majority of minorities--determines a public policy after negotiation and compromise) represents a highly effective and generally equitable way of settling disputes in a diversified society.[24]

It is inconceivable, however, that this brokerage of ideas will be successful without media which present alternative information upon which consensus may ultimately be reached.

Since the ultimate goal of a free society should be the maximization of freedom within certain limits determined by this pluralized consensuality, the primary role of the mass media may be seen as that of expediting the diversified information and alternatives needed to insure that true pluralized decision-making is facilitated.

This means that the communicator must function as a pluralist if the social pluralism that underpins a free society is to survive. And to the extent that a plurality of information exists, a society will find its corresponding degree of individual and factional freedom.

The role of the pluralist as it is depicted in the model, of course, is the important one for this paper.

It is argued here that under an implied ethical mandate, the journalist has an obligation to strengthen rather than rend the fabric of society--and that he can best accomplish this by accepting the ethical imperative to function as a pluralist rather than an advocate.

THE PLURALIST MANDATE

John Milton viewed as "the utmost bound of civil liberty attained," a situation in which "complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed."[25]

In describing the English populace of the day, Milton may just as well have been cautioning leaders of all time, but particularly those who would make law in the United States. It would seem the following passage from Milton's discourse in opposition to the licensing of printing in England ought have particular merit for a journalist:

> ...consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to.[26]

Such an optimistic view of the populace it would seem to us, is a basic assumption the Bill of Rights imposes on this nation about the nature of its inhabitants. Therefore, under the terms laid down by the First Amendment, it would seem reasonable that a journalist in this society must be committed to at least the first element of Milton's "utmost bound of civil liberty attained" (above). That first element suggests an ethical imperative resting upon the journalist to strive to guarantee that "complaints are freely heard" in the broadest sense of the word. Indeed, we would suggest that to exercise regulation, either by sins of omission (ignoring certain viewpoints) or by sins of commission (engaging in unilateral persuasion), the journalist is either insulting his audience (or showing some considerable contempt) or is arrogantly deciding what course is best in a given matter and denying that audience the right to make the decision. The first is intolerable in a participatory society

and the second may ultimately institutionalize a mistaking of vested interest for the social interest.

All mandates must have a source from which they derive their power and authority. The source of the pluralist mandate, then, is the ethic of freedom--an ethic upon which this nation has reached consensual agreement and which operates on the premise that a person has the right to make personal choices from among a body of well-articulated alternatives.

Failure to provide the alternatives amounts to an ethical violation--but it is a violation that cannot be regulated or punished because members of a free society must be free to either uphold the freedom ethic or abrogate their responsibilities if they so desire.

And herein lies the dilemma of the advocate journalist.

Advocacy is a seductive concept for a journalist because it allows him to justify his actions as steps designed for reform. Caught up in a messianic zeal, he fails to provide alternative information because he is somehow convinced that his advocacy will be the salvation of society or satisfy some other noble purpose. But in a very real sense, the advocate reneges on his responsibility by using the medium he controls to become a special pleader and thereby reducing--if not upsetting--the informational balance of power so vital to a participatory society.

Indeed, it can be effectively argued that the journalist who does not adopt the position of pluralist becomes an advocate either by choice or default. Whether a person fails to present alternatives by free choice or professional sloth, the end result is the same.

Thus, pluralism becomes an oftentimes difficult but nevertheless critical option for the journalist.

Under the pluralist mandate, the journalist must become a healthy skeptic who assumes that when a source makes a statement there must be at least one or more alternative positions that should be publicly examined before decisions are reached.

Merrill and Lowenstein refer to this function--one that is generally taken for granted--by calling it a criterion "that might help the student of the press evaluate a newspaper...":

> Pluralism in news and views. How well does the newspaper achieve a diversity of news and views on its pages? Is there an attempt to provide some kind of balance or argument in the opinion columns and a realistic range of viewpoints and subject matter in the news columns?[27]

Merrill later recognizes, however, that a variety of forces tend to operate which make even the generalized pluralism he describes above difficult to achieve. Perhaps the major stumbling block is symptomatic of the drift towards the monolithic ownership of publications, a problem of apathy in which Merrill believes "more and more people are trying to escape freedom and journalists are ever more cheerfully disappearing into the recesses of highly institutionalized 'corporate' journalism."[28]

The institutionalization of journalism may be expected to create the phenomenon known in statistics as "regression toward the mean" by producing a common denominator type of journalism that has little patience with pluralistic journalists because pluralism inevitably sparks cries of outrage from organized interest groups with special pleaders while bringing little support from the audience to whom the journalist feels responsible.

John D. Stevens warns that "toleration is an unnatural state"[29] even for the press. When this problem is coupled with the residence of overt power in the persuaders, rather than in the audience, it is easy to see how pluralism can be routinely discouraged by an adverse climate where special pleaders with special skills (and therefore the power) can transmit their messages while people with alternative messages but without special skills find their voices muffled.

The only remedy for this situation is resurgence of interest in personal pluralism by professional journalists. But if the present state of the art is any indication, that hope of resurgence is a dim one at best.

A PLURALIST COMMITMENT

Despite the limited lip service paid to pluralism in the communications industry, it is a difficult standard to live. Therefore, it would seem that pluralism must be encouraged as a positive virtue if it is to survive the stresses placed upon it by contemporary communications trends.

A dedicated pluralist may be defined as one who almost automatically thinks of and introduces a second side of an issue into both professional stories and private conversations. Another step in the right direction toward achieving pluralism is the teaching of journalism students to strive for well-rounded stories that consider as many viewpoints as possible.

Perhaps, because of the pernicious effects of individual biases, it would be fruitful to teach the spirit and rationale of the "scientific method" to budding journalists.

This scientific spirit, according to C. S. Peirce, "requires a man to be at all times ready to dump his whole cartload of beliefs, the moment experience

is against them. The desire to learn forbids him to be perfectly cocksure that he knows already."[30]

Such an attitude by the journalist would tend to immunize him against the inevitable persuasive rhetoric of the special pleader and would instill in him a critical sense that would tell him incessantly that "this is not all the story."

But there is evidence to suggest that this state is more easily discussed than arrived at-- consider the fact that out of a corps of hundreds of trained Washington correspondents, only two were convinced to the point of action that the government had not been telling the true story about Watergate.

It is far easier to take the role of advocate because it is the path of least resistance. Tolerance is often a painful state and a commitment to pluralism often requires a journalist to write that which is personally repugnant.

The advocate will at least receive the accolades of his ideological bedfellows. The pluralist has no such socially reinforcing stimuli--his commitment requires him to reconcile himself to the fact he will be reviled by the special pleaders and generally ignored by the public he tries to provide with alternative information.

It is a thankless task at best because the pluralist is committed to long-range objectives rooted in the freedom ethic while, as Stevens notes, "Both men and societies usually opt for short-term goals."[31]

Pluralism is currently in short supply, even within the media themselves. As Stevens also points out, "American publishers have always been willing to allow the suppression of the radical press; often they have led the efforts to punish it. Many local papers in 1969 were urging and applauding convictions of

college and underground editors for printing 'dirty words.' The general press seldom has been willing to align itself with those elements whose views are unpopular."[32]

LIMITERS OF PLURALISM

As was pointed out earlier in this paper, consolidation of media ownership and control is one of the prevailing forces that serves to limit pluralism in our society. Ben Bagdikian notes that there are a number of related developments in recent years that have tended to intensify this control: (a) continued growth of large chains, (b) chains buying other chains and (c) the increase of media-owning conglomerates where news simply becomes a by-product. He also warns that while fewer owners control more newspapers, almost all newspapers are now "monopolies in their own communities."[33]

The consolidation in ownership is most evident in the number of papers owned by newspaper groups. The most recent figures in Editor and Publisher show that a record 167 groups now own 1,047 daily newspapers in the United States--accounting for a whopping 71 per cent of the nation's daily newspaper circulation.[34]

In 1970, there were 157 groups owning 879 papers and in 1960, 109 groups owned just 560 dailies.[35]

Bagdikian warns that:

> Nothing on the horizon indicates that the trend toward concentration of power in the news business and the mixing of news with other enterprises will diminish. All the present signs are that consolidation will increase...Size and money are not contrary to good journalism. Some of the best papers are the big ones. And unless they are profitable they will not remain in business, or, if they do, they will not remain free. But the present concentration of power over the news reduces the diversity of voices in the marketplace of information and ideas.[36]

Merrill and Lowenstein agree that such monopoly ownership "reduces the variety of criticism" and observe that "monopolistic ownership of the press threatens to remove from a democratic society the product itself (in contrast with a soap monopoly, which reduces the consumers choices but still gives him the product)--variety of criticism."[37]

In spite of this trend, not everyone is convinced the nation is rushing headlong into the perpetuation of media as monolith. Roy M. Fisher believes that "despite massive consolidations," American media "retains much of its traditional diversity" and points to the regular emergence of new media enterprises that "add diversity to our media, and their mere existence provides a safeguard against the irresponsibility of collectivism."[38]

It is most ironic that the other major force serving to limit pluralism in our society is a countervailing force--one that occupies the opposite pole from consolidation and concentration. Diversity itself has the capacity to limit pluralism in that society can become so fragmented the consensus necessary for participatory society can break up and the public therein can become so stratified that they become locked into their own specialized microcosms.

Alvin Toffler notes this phenomenon in his apocalyptic opus Future Shock:

> Of all the forces accused of homogenizing the modern mind, few have been so continuously and bitterly criticized as have the mass media. Intellectuals in the United States and Europe have lambasted television in particular for standardizing speech, habits and tastes. They have pictured it as a vast lawnroller flattening out our regional differences, crushing the last vestiges of cultural variety...
>
> While there is some truth to these charges, they overlook critically important counter-trends that generate diversity, not standardization. Television, with its high cost of production and its limited number of channels, is still necessarily dependent on large audiences. But in almost every other communications medium we trace a decreasing reliance on mass audiences.[39]

Toffler adds the point that society's headlong rush in search of variety, choice and freedom--which converges with other forces of transcience, novelty and technology--is leading to a social fragmentation that is bringing about "the crack-up of consensus."[40]

Don Pember also cites the accelerating disintegration of the mass audience, noting the ongoing demise of special interest publications and the meteoric growth of publications aimed at smaller, specialized target publics. He says that social fragmentation shows no signs of slowing down and predicts that "this fact alone portends great problems for the mass media in America..." Pember believes the day is rapidly coming when everything a man gets from media can be stored in a computer and called up on a tailor-made basis. "On that day, mass media might no longer exist," he posits.[41]

Fisher shares that vision and finds it ironic that "the technology that threatens to end individuality, bears within itself the seeds of diversity as well...It is possible that the mass media...may someday be replaced by a host of special media, each serving its special audience and their special interest."[42]

Given that kind of situation, it is not difficult to envision an age of specialization of such magnitude that each source of information will become an advocate or special pleader delivering its messages to its special publics without the benefit of pluralized alternatives that provide for public dialogue and consensual decision-making.

People cannot benefit from pluralism if they are isolated from alternative messages by the velvety cocoon of special interest and only come into contact with advocate-type messages.

So the mass communicator with a commitment to pluralism must fight two ties at once: (1) forces that would gain control of messages by consolidation

and concentration of power and (2) countervailing forces that threaten to stratify and specialize messages. Both serve to limit the number of voices and--by corollary--pluralistic ideas the reader or viewer will encounter.

This problem is compounded by the fact the journalist is also caught in a tug-of-war between those who would control information in order to influence public decisions and those who must make the decisions but feel threatened when alternative views emerge that tend to challenge their own opinions.

The pluralist-journalist finds himself right in the vortex of a maelstrom of forces that would prevent him from identifying alternatives and presenting them to his audience. It is a position that requires dedication, preserverence, hard work and a toughness of mind that will not permit him to take the relatively easy course of advocate.

His position, by its nature, is one that will be unpopular, unappreciated and unrewarding. Nevertheless, it is a role that is necessary to the perpetuation of a free society where participatory democracy relies on the alternative information he provides.

EXAMPLES OF PLURALISM

Perhaps a few examples of what we think are pluralists at work may serve to provide a composite operational definition of the terms.

Jack Anderson, with his syndicated newspaper column, is perhaps the most visible pluralist today. He demonstrates both the virtues and the hazards of the pluralist. On the one hand, he continually presents an intramedia "counter" message on basic topics. In contrast to the usual overwhelming newspaper content that tends to deal with weightier affairs, the Anderson column regularly looks at the "flip side" of relatively minor behaviors and activities. Yet these areas

are ones which are basic to individual political decision-making--the behavior of leaders and bureaucratic institutions. He provides information about virtually any public topic or public individual. Generally the information he provides is not worthy of full news coverage, but it does provide information that allows readers to evaluate a little more accurately the foibles and virtues of--mostly--Washington insiders.

That he attempts to be accurate, we think, is beyond doubt. He has repeatedly said he makes every effort to substantiate his material. Likewise, as a good pluralist should, he readily admits to his errors in public speeches devoted to discussion of the mechanics of his craft. Also, as a pluralist should, he invariably reports in his column that he, or his associates, have either contacted, or attempted to contact, the person or office about whom a disclosure is to be made to allow for a response, which he notes.

Granted, such statements may be window dressing, but he includes enough responses in his column to suggest that he and his staff are conscientious in this regard.

Another basic Anderson characteristic that must be commented upon in relation to a description of the pluralist, is his evenhanded application. Jack Anderson's column is as likely to disclose the unsavory about his close friends and associates as it is to provide criticism of his enemies.

As a result, it is suspected he pays a price for this pluralism. It has often been noted in public print that Jack Anderson is not particularly active socially. Perhaps the inactivity is one enforced to some degree on him as a consequence of his position rather than personal preference. By the same token, it would also be suggested that virtually all his affiliations could prove awkward and compromising to him because of his consistent adherence to a pluralist policy.

And, though Jack Anderson provides a pluralist touch to most of the newspapers in which his column appears, and to most of the radio stations on which his program is carried, he sometimes becomes too much of a pluralist for their taste when his column contains references to local people or locally-sensitive issues. He reports a number of instances in which items in his Washington-based column have been deleted from local newspapers because they contained references to local personalities or leaders (Congressmen representing the local area, for example).

Such a practice suggests the need for pluralists at all levels of mass media control, a pluralism in which local audiences are given a chance to hear (or read) and evaluate information about the people and issues upon which they must make decisions.

A second pluralistic practice, for which the television networks pay a price in terms of rather widespread public criticism, is the institution of post-speech commentaries after appearances on television of the President of the United States. The five, or fifteen minute commentary, generally used to assess the relative impact of the decision, or to place the announcement in context, came under particularly heavy criticism during the Nixon Administration when administration officials brought public pressure on the networks to discontinue the practice, referring emotionally to the arrogance of the networks in presuming to tell the people of the nation what the president of the United States had just said. However, a pluralist would defend the addition of the commentaries as classic instances in which the viewer had just seen for himself what the president had to say (and the president in this instance is purely a special

pleader) and the moderating voice of the journalists as they "tempered" the impact of the president's speech with observations that may include inconsistencies, changes in position, impractical (in their view) goals, etc. In this sense, the ideas from a variety of angles are thrown into the public marketplace of ideas.

Some might argue that the commenting journalists have the advantage of the after-the-fact interpretation, but it is suggested that the massive impact of the president or any other special pleader on the audience must not be taken lightly.

A fascinating line graph compiled by James C. Strouse measuring President Nixon's popularity during the crucial Jan, 1973 to May, 1974 period shows that, despite public criticism, a sniping that was almost constant by then, when President Nixon made a public appearance or engaged in other public efforts to increase his popularity, he was successful.[43] Thus, the presidential appearance may be said to be extremely powerful and those who would call off the pluralists in the interpretative sessions would merely wish to increase that power, providing a more convenient route to concensus building by the White House, rather than fearing the commentators would destroy the president's credibility by after-the-speech interpretation.

SUMMARY

To summarize, this paper suggests that conditions of press consolidation and the emergence of more specialized audiences have made most silent assumptions relative to press pluralism obsolete.

These assumptions generally held that the more publications there are, the more sources of information (in terms of media units), the more pluralism was served.

Specialized audiences and a tendency of audiences to bring themselves into contact mostly with supporting points of view has raised the question of whether the individual journalist might need to consider the urgency of an ethical mandate that he become a pluralist and for the ethic of pluralism to shift from intermedia to intramedia in its nature.

A model is proposed which places the individual journalist in the position of conduit, passing on with mechanics-imposed mediation a special pleader's message. At the same time, he is to be generating alternative information from either volunteer sources or from stimulated sources.

As a conduit, the journalist has a responsibility to offer a forum to the special pleader. However, the more difficult responsibility is that of generating and presenting messages that tend to counter those of the organized special pleading individuals.

Such generation of alternative messages allows individual audience members in a participatory society to consider options in their decisionmaking processes. In a nation committed to ultimate governance by public opinion, the pluralistic journalist becomes an essential element in the production by society of decisions that, in the light of history, will be considered to have been correct decisions.

That the public has the continuing capability for making correct decisions has been validated by 40 years of George Gallup polls. At question is the continuing possibility for the making of these decisions. This paper projects continuing and expanding societal problems unless journalists accept an ethical mandate to provide each audience with alternatives or options for the decisions the audience members must make.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Nick B. Williams, "America's Third Force: The Watchdog Press," The Responsibility Of The Press, ed. Gerald Gross, (New York: Fleet Publishing Corp., 1966) pp. 173-174.

[2]"What E. B. White Told Xerox," Columbia Journalism Review (September-October, 1976) pp. 52-54.

[3]Richard A. Schwarzlose, "For Journalists Only," Columbia Journalism Review (July-August, 1977) pp. 32.

[4]William Rivers, Theodore Peterson, and Jay W. Jenson, The Mass Media and Modern Society (second edition) (San Francisco: Rinehart Press, 1971) p. 320.

[5]Louis M. Lyons, "A Commentary On The Press," Nieman Reports (June, 1972) Vol. XXVI, No. 2, p. 5.

[6]John C. Merrill and Ralph C. Lowenstein, Media, Messages And Men (New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1971) p. 100.

[7]Ibid, pp. 101-102.

[8]American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1969) p. 1009.

[9]Roy C. Macridis and Robert E. Ward, ed. Modern Political Systems: Europe (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1972) p. 13.

[10]Michael Ryan and James W. Tankard, Jr., Basic News Reporting (Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1977) p. 21.

[11]Merrill and Lowenstein, p. 101.

[12]Ralph D. Barney, "The Ways of the Corrupters," Ethics And The Press: Readings In Mass Media Morality, ed. John C. Merrill and Ralph D. Barney, (New York: Hastings House, 1975) p. 318.

[13]American Institute For Political Communication, The Federal Government-Daily Press Relationship (Washington, D.C.: The Institute, 1967) p. 108.

[14]William Schabarker, Public Relations And The News Media (M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1963).

[15]Verne E. Edwards, Jr., Journalism In A Free Society (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., Publishers, 1970) p. 194.

[16]Irving J. Lee, Language Habits In Human Affairs (New York: Harper And Row, 1941) p. 61.

[17]John C. Merrill, Existential Journalism (New York: Hastings House, 1977) p. 60.

[18]Harold D. Lasswell, "The Structure And Function Of Communication In Society," Mass Communications, ed. Wilbur Schramm, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960) p. 122.

[19]Lee, pp. 15-25.

[20]Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Mass Communication, Popular Taste and Organized Social Action," Mass Communication, ed. Wilbur Schramm (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960) pp. 497-503.

[21]Melvin L. DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, Theories of Mass Communication 3rd. Ed. (New York: David McKay Co. Inc., 1975) p. 240.

[22]Justice Potter Stewart, "Or Of The Press," Yale Law School Address (Nov. 2, 1974) excerpted in 26 Hastings L. J. 631 (1975).

[23]George Gallup, quoted in Opinion Polls (Santa Barbara: Center For The Study Of Democratic Institutions, 1962) pp. 27-28.

[24]R. Joseph Monson, Jr., and Mark W. Cannon, The Makers Of Public Policy (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965) pp. 334-335.

[25]John Milton, "Aeropagitica," in Charles W. Eliot, ed. The Harvard Classics (Bacon, Milton, Browne Volume) (New York: P. F. Collier & Son Corporation, 1937) p. 189.

[26]Ibid, p. 22.

[27]Merrill and Lowenstein, p. 167.

[28]Merrill, Existential Journalism, p. 53.

[29]John D. Stevens, "Freedom Of Expression: A New Dimension" Mass Media and Modern Democracy, ed. Harry M. Chlor (Chicago: Rand-McNally College Publishing Co., 1974) p. 23.

[30]Lee, p. 70.

[31]Stevens, p. 23.

[32]Ibid, p. 25.

[33]Ben Bagdikian, "Newspaper Mergers--The Final Phase," Columbia Journalism Review (March-April, 1977) p. 21.

[34]"167 Groups Own 1,047 Dailies," Editor And Publisher (July 9, 1977) pp. 10-11.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Bagdikian, pp. 21-22.

[37]Merrill and Lowenstein, p. 51.

[38]Roy M. Fisher, "The Challenging Role Of The Newsman," Nieman Reports (September: 1972) Vol. XXVI, No. 3. p. 12.

[39]Alvin Toffler, Future Shock (New York: Bantam Books, 1970) p. 276.

[40]Ibid, p. 304.

[41]Don Pember, Mass Media In America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1974) pp. 331-359.

[42]Fisher, p. 13.

[43]James C. Strouse, The Mass Media, Public Opinion and Public Policy Analysis (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1975) p. 155.

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